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Forty-seventh session
Agenda item 69
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 12 November 1992 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a letter from His Excellency Mr. Milan Panić, Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, addressed to you (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 69, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIĆ
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

ANNEX

Letter dated 11 November 1992 from the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia addressed to the Secretary-General

I have to inform you that the situation, especially on the Herzegovina battlefield, is exacerbating further, in spite of the fact that on 23 and 30 October 1992, you, Lt.-Gen. Satish Nambiar and President Tudjman were cautioned about the conduct of the members of the army and police forces of the Republic of Croatia.

Thus on 7 November about 8.45 p.m. and on 9 November at around 11 a.m. the airspace of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, above the Adriatic Sea to the south-west of the port of Bar, was violated by an aircraft of unidentified origin.

On 8 November 1992, the Croatian forces carried out a number of strong assaults on the positions of the Serb army in Herzegovina and in particular along the following directions: Capijina-Stolac-Ljubinje, Mostar-Nevesinje and Dubrovnik-Trebinje. During the assaults, a number of Serb villages in the communes of Stolac and Trebinje were burned down.

Fierce aggressive assaults were continued by the Croatian forces on 9 November 1992 also along the direction Dubrovnik-Plat-Trebinje and Konavli-Trebinje, on which occasion the Serb villages suffered great material damage and destruction.

Considering that such and similar actions can hardly be tolerated, I wish to appeal to you to use your influence so that further violations of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's airspace as well as aggression against the territory of Herzegovina by the Republic of Croatia are stopped. I would also like to ask you to be so kind as to inform Lt.-Gen. Satish Nambiar accordingly.

(Signed) Milan PANIĆ

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REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
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SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 11 November 1992 from the First Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia addressed to the Secretary-General

The Government of Georgia would appreciate it if you could circulate the attached text of the letter of the Chairman of the Parliament, Head of State of the Republic of Georgia, Mr. E. Shevardnadze, as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 69, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) T. JAPARIDZE
First Deputy Foreign Minister

ANNEX

Letter from the Chairman of the Parliament and Head of State of Georgia addressed to the Secretary-General

Allow me to express on behalf of the Georgian people great appreciation for your efforts to bring peace to my country and the entire world. The United Nations fact-finding mission that has recently visited Georgia is perceived here as an important step towards the peaceful settlement of the conflict. So is also the fact that two of the delegation members have remained here to do further work in this direction.

As regards the situation in Georgia, it is still tense. It is quite apparent that the Georgian side has strictly followed the principles and fulfilled the obligations outlined in the 3 September Agreement, while the other sides have violated them constantly. As a Member of the United Nations the Republic of Georgia considers it its duty to be true to the obligations it has assumed. There has been a considerable interest both on the part of the United Nations and the European structures with respect to our problems. I am, however, sorry to say that so far no concrete steps have been taken to solve the conflict. In fact the confrontation is intensifying and the number of casualties grows daily. The Abkhaz separatists, along with mercenaries citizens of other countries, continue to carry out military operations. The rest of Georgia is engulfed by a surge of refugees that has originated in Abkhazia. Yet, we still invest our greatest hopes in international organizations, first and foremost in the Security Council's prompt and effective response, since time is running out and we are reaching a critical threshold. I do know that the capabilities of the United Nations are somewhat limited, but even reaffirmation by the Security Council of its previous resolution could be a positive step and one conducive to the peaceful settlement of the conflict at this stage.

Unfortunately, my prediction regarding the possible broadening of the conflict zone in the Caucasus is coming true: as you probably know, hostilities between North Ossetia and the Ingush have already begun, whereas the region has no mechanism whatsoever capable of confining a conflict, let alone settling it. Should another Caucasus War occur, it will spell catastrophe not only for the Caucasus.

The example of Yugoslavia proves once again how destructive the consequences of a delay can be. If a full-scale war is unleashed in the Caucasus it will take the world community a far greater effort to stop it, since the Caucasus is on the periphery of Europe and the area is virtually a "virgin land" in terms of cooperation by international forces.

Therefore I request that you take another look at the situation so that new practical steps may be taken along the difficult road leading to peace and stability throughout the world.

(Signed) Eduard SHEVARDNADZE
Chairman of the Parliament
Head of State of the Republic of Georgia

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OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 12 November 1992 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a letter from His Excellency Mr. Dobrica Cosić, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, addressed to you (see annex).

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 69, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIĆ
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

ANNEX

Letter dated 11 November 1992 from the President of Yugoslavia addressed to the Secretary-General

By 20 October 1992, the units of the Yugoslav Armed Forces fully complied with the plan for the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Armed Forces from the territory of Cavtat and Herceg Novi and fulfilled their obligation regarding the demilitarization of Prevlaka. On the other hand, the units of the Croatian Armed Forces, in violation of the provisions of this plan, provoked several incidents and even opened fire on and over the units of the Yugoslav Armed Forces in Montenegro, about which I informed you in my letters of 31 October and 4 November 1992.

On this occasion, I wish to inform you that the regular units of the Republic of Croatia have been on the constant and general offensive for the fourth consecutive day now against the territory of eastern Herzegovina with the main thrust in the directions Mostar-Nevesinje and Dubrovnik-Trebinje. In the morning hours of 11 November 1992, the units of the Republic of Croatia launched a general and fierce attack engaging 16 brigades and support units along the above-mentioned directions. They are committing atrocities against innocent and unarmed Serbian civilians that can only be termed a crime of genocide.

On 6 November 1992, at Geneva, I had important discussions with Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen regarding ways and means to influence the Serbian leadership in Bosnia and Herzegovina immediately to halt the war operations and engage in negotiations on political solutions to the agony in Bosnia and Herzegovina. To that end, I had talks with Mr. Radovan Karadzić and asked him to use his political influence with the Serbian military factions, which he immediately accepted. In order to have this agreement with the Serbian commands as well founded as possible, and in agreement with Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, I summoned military experts of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces. The conference of the Serbian military and political factions in Bosnia and Herzegovina took place on 8 November 1992 in Bijeljina. On 9 November, Mr. Radovan Karadzić, in his capacity of President of the Serbian Republic (Republika Srpska), announced his place plan and informed Mr. Vance and Lord Owen of it. That rekindled hopes that the peace process for Bosnia and Herzegovina might finally be initiated. Unfortunately, once again, the pressures to cease war operations were brought to bear only on the Serbian side. The corresponding pressure upon Croatia and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as equal participants in the religious war between the nationalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, has failed to materialize. Therefore, the established policy based on the principle of Serbian responsibility for the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina still continues. Our joint efforts have been to no avail. The Serbian peace plan was responded to by the Croatian State and Bosnian Croats and Muslims, as I have already stated to you, by a large-scale offensive.

I appeal to you, to the Security Council and to the European Community to exert your authority on Croatia and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a matter of urgency, immediately to cease combat operations, accept the proposed Serbian peace plan and embark upon political negotiations with Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the state and political organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Today, the world community and its political forums bear the primary responsibility for the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and for achieving the peace to which we all aspire. Let us not lose the last moments to spare the people from the Yugoslav and Balkan area from a tragedy that will also cause great misfortune to Europe and to the world at large. I herewith kindly ask you to act decisively and with all the means you have at your disposal.

I particularly expect you to use your personal authority and that of the world Organization and prevent the Republic of Croatia from attacking the territory of eastern Herzegovina, particularly from the regions of Konavli, Cavtat and Plat, which are under the supervision of the United Nations forces, in accordance with the plan for the demilitarization of Prevlaka.

Should the Republic of Croatia continue to violate the above-mentioned plan despite your efforts, the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia will be forced to undertake decisive measures in order to protect Serbian people in eastern Herzegovina and in the Republic of Montenegro.

Dobrica COSIĆ
President of the Federal Republic
of Yugoslavia

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12 November 1992

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 12 NOVEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT OBSERVER OF PALESTINE TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to request that, in accordance with its previous practice, the Security Council invite Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa, Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, to participate in the current debate of the Security Council on the item entitled "The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

Dr. Nasser Al-Kidwa will also be speaking in his capacity as the Chairman of the Arab Group for the month of November 1992.

(Signed) Nasser AL-KIDWA
Permanent Observer of Palestine
to the United Nations

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LETTER DATED 11 NOVEMBER 1992 FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I refer to my letter to the President of the Security Council dated 28 October (S/24731) in which I reported that due to certain difficulties which had developed, it would not be possible to conclude the dismantling of the military structure of the FMLN on the date originally envisaged, and that I had asked Messrs. Marrack Goulding and Alvaro de Soto to travel to San Salvador to assist in overcoming those difficulties. In the meantime, I recommended, and the Council agreed in resolution 784 (1992), to extend the mandate of ONUSAL until 30 November 1992. In approving my proposal, the Council urged both parties "to respect scrupulously and to implement in good faith the commitments assumed by them under the agreements signed on 16 January 1992 at Mexico City and to respond positively to the Secretary-General's latest proposals to them aimed at overcoming the current difficulties".

On 23 October I had proposed to the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN a set of adjustments to the timetable in the Peace Agreements according to which the phase of the cessation of the armed conflict would be completed on 15 December. The FMLN accepted my proposal contingent upon agreement by the Government. President Cristiani, however, reserved his position on a number of aspects of my proposal, conditioning demobilization, reduction and restructuring of the Armed Forces on submission by the FMLN of a weapons inventory satisfactory to the Secretary-General and initiation of the destruction of those weapons. President Cristiani raised some questions concerning the schedule envisaged for implementation of the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Commission on purification of the Armed Forces.

Mr. Goulding and Mr. de Soto arrived in San Salvador on 30 October and immediately began consultations with President Cristiani and, separately, with the General Command of the FMLN. On 2 November I had to ask Mr. Goulding to return to New York and go to Angola because of the situation which had arisen there.

Mr. de Soto stayed on in San Salvador and returned on 7 November, having successfully concluded arrangements with the parties which would formally bring the armed conflict to an end on 15 December 1992. This is the date which I had proposed in my 23 October letter to the two sides.

President Cristiani has agreed to complete the implementation of the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Commission on purification of the Armed Forces within a specified time-frame. A certain adjustment was necessary for the practical reason that decisions regarding military personnel are issued and made public on the last day of each month and become effective on the first day of the following month. President Cristiani has agreed to inform me by 29 November of the administrative decisions he has taken on this matter. Assuming these decisions match the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Commission (all of which have remained confidential), the FMLN is to provide ONUSAL with a final inventory of weapons, conclude the concentration of those weapons on 30 November and begin their destruction on 1 December. These are also the dates which I had proposed. Contingent upon my confirmation that these actions have been duly completed, the Government would promptly resume the dissolution of military units as previously agreed.

It is important to note that it has been expressly stipulated, for the first time, that compliance with certain key points in the calendar by one side is contingent upon compliance with specific undertakings by the other side. Careful monitoring by ONUSAL will therefore be necessary to ensure that compliance takes place on schedule. I shall keep the Security Council duly informed of progress in this regard.

It is evident that the peace process is entering an especially delicate phase during which it will be imperative that both parties act with caution and restraint in order to consolidate stability in the country. It will be equally important that such caution and restraint be ensured for an extended period after 15 December, especially in the former zones of conflict, so that national reconciliation may become a reality.

As requested in resolution 784 (1992), I will present to the Council in the second half of November a report on the progress of the peace process and my recommendations regarding the extension of the mandate of ONUSAL.

(Signed) Boutros BOUTROS-GHALI